1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and, in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluea and Uyo (1) is instructive in this regard as showing the power of Tuna. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throwing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign vessels or canoes:

The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata kaua* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Tua, united as the *uai toina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamaunga and Yayi, were together the *muli kaua* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata kaua* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the landing canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organised for resistance.

No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

I am an old man and can not fight any more." The power of the aging chief was such that the canoes were easily hurried away from Pukapuka. It is impossible to state to what Pacific island the name Yiva refers.

Further Bloodshed

The time of Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was one of much bloodshed and petty violence. Alatakupu himself seems to have been rather a brutal character, though whether his delight in instigating killings was due to blood lust or mere deviltry is not known. Pukapukans today do not analyze what must have been a complex character, but the chief's violent death is evidence that those of his time considered him vicious. It would seem that during his reign the class of old men, who had equal powers in the government of the island with the chief, was invaded by a younger group of men from the age grade next below, who set up a petty tyranny. Their food was provided by the efforts of the still younger group of adult men (*lopa*). Being of vigorous mind and having much time and energy on their hands, the old men apparently plotted how best they might lord it over the people of the island. In this they were undoubtedly supported by the chief, who seems privately to have encouraged the young men to rebel against the older group and then openly insisted that the older group of men punish the younger men for their insubordination. The story of the young men of Yato, with the final killing of a man named Malotini, illustrates the violence of the time:

The immediate cause of the trouble between the young men and the old men was food division. The fishing group of young men, the *tangaŋa*, brought back turtle and other fish for the old men to divide among all the people. The old men apparently ate all the fish themselves and then made disparaging remarks about the quality of the fish provided by the young men. This went on for some time until the young men became so enraged that they took every opportunity grossly to insult their elders and finally decided to defy what they considered the injustice of the old men's rule by going to the reserves to fish and get nuts for themselves. It says much for the undermining of constituted authority at this time that such an idea could have entered their minds, because it meant violation of both secular and supernormal sanctions. Alatakupu encouraged the young men to do this, but as soon as they had left Wale, he consulted the old men and urged them to put an end to the rebellious young men. The chief assisted the punitive expedition by requesting his goddess Tana to blind the young men so they would be an easy match for the old men. He also placed at the disposal of the old men the services of two of his strongest warriors, named Kaleva-motu and Te Vana. Various groups of men from the other villages joined the old men's party. As most of the men on the reserves were from Yato, men from other villages conceived this a good time to pay off old scores against their Yato rivals.

The old men landed on Motu Kotawa. The Yato rebels fell easy victims to the larger group: all save Te Keli and Nuanua, who escaped back to Wale along the reef, and a third, older man named Malotini, who was away on a long fishing trip. The old men paddled back to Wale and commenced a search for the missing two men. They found Nuanua near the cemetery of his lineage. He was armed and called on his gods to protect him when he saw the armed group approach. The older men were intimidated by Nuanua's fierce bearing and hung back from the engagement, but some young men from Ngake, enraged beyond endurance by his taunts, rushed forward and finally killed him. Te Keli was similarly killed.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the *alea* dirge:

Moe ua te toto e,
Tatou tatangi ki motu e,
Ka mavili kape i mata e, kape ua na vae.

Tino yaulelia, ye vava, yaele wua mai tai nei—

Tiaki te kakai matua, no latou na vaia,
E tengia koutou i to koutou tangata,
Wa'il wua mai ki a koe te potiki o te takanga
a te wai mulivaka,
Koa ngalo koe, e ule kaina i to pou tu,

To yiku tala wuwull ko te matamatangi—

Na wakatokotoka in lalo
Wakatupoupou atu koe ki Malivae.
E toku wuvale, e toku taina,
Aku wakaulnia mai koe ko te wale atua.

Na patua ko loto o Talikai.

Nauniai koe pe Welei,
Ko ye tua na waituaga o tangata o te atu
Yuvea.
Koa yau koe to tala na i te tala o Tiki na
patua.
Ko te vaka o Te Palo ya teie.
Tenei au e tungoungou wakamauava
Wakamaihunga i te kainga ma te kau no to a
koutou ma te ulu leka koutou.
E aku taina, ke vave alu au pe Uye,
Ke aku taki atu i na ngutu lalalala e
Mukeke abe, meavava.
Koe teka mo to winangale e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding,
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fuming, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your men.
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house.
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Malivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
? Talikai.
You smelled like Welei.[39]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoas.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[40]
Here I am wailing, sighing.
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uye,[41]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing, the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed for the assistance of Tuna and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and Pailos. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tuna to help him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[39] A character in a popular story.
[40] A reference to the swift passage of Te Palo between Nassau and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[41] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

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173 Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man
579 has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, includ-
643 ing you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in
669 the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat. Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead, that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's cemetery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilun.

579 The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with
152 other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the atoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

167 The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of
173 Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki). The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tata, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Telua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tata (The Canoe-of-Tata).

These people set out from Laiawunga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Ketawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were washed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feelings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watunoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *lili langi* or *la kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tuiao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

539 Kape's brother, Malamatia, had been killed by the thief Wuina. Kape decided to avenge (literally, "prepared the ovens") his brother's death and searched for a method by which Wuina would die. This was the temptation: Kape went to dig a basket of taro which he carried very ostentatiously past the place where Wuina was sitting and so on to a very distant place where no land shells made a sound. Coming to where a coconut leaf drooped down to touch the coral, Kape dug a hole beneath the leaf of such a depth that the buttocks of Wuina would stand above the hole. Kape buried the taro and went off to prepare his spear.

Wuina had followed Kape to the place and watched him leave. Then he ran with joy to the hole and began to dig up the sand to get at the taro. Meanwhile, armed with his spear, Kape crept quietly back. The noise of his movements was covered by the swishing of the coconut leaf against the coral and besides Wuina was intent on his digging. Wuina was reaching down to the taro and his buttocks were upward. Kape drove his spear into Wuina with such force that the point came out of Wuina's mouth. Wuina died and this verse recalls the incident:

Like the story of Kape in Yayake,
And the taro hole where he speared Wuina,
The hole he placed below the coconut leaf,
It was Kape's revenge for Malamatia
For Wuina, the thief, had often troubled us.

Vakayala

538 The tale of Vakayala is reminiscent of the story of Papalangi
579 (see pages 46-47) which also has as its motive the running
627 amok of a man shamed or punished by the community for anti-social conduct. It is noteworthy that in both stories the individual expressed his anger against the community by the purposeless killing of the first helpless children he met when fleeing from the place of his shame. Papalangi was
539 further punished for manslaughter by drowning, Vakayala by being whipped to death. An alternate account of Vakayala's death adds a refinement of torture to his punishment when it states that the father of the slain children heated two large stones in the oven and applied them to Vakayala's testicles, which finally "exploded." The variant account also states that Vakayala was never buried but that his disintegrated body was allowed to drift in the lagoon with the tide so that everyone might curse it; in the end there was nothing left of the body save two gleaming eyes which the people saw when they went to the beach at night to curse Vakayala.

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The people collected the rubbish piles and placed them in the customary path of the demon. A warrior showed himself and tempted the demon to advance. As he advanced, the warrior retreated, setting light to the piles with a torch. The translation then runs:

"The demon crab crawled on top of the first bonfire. He was scorched by the fire. One of his legs broke. Finished. Te Palo (the warrior) moved backward. The demon crab climbed onto the next bonfire. He broke the other large foot. The main legs were finished at being broken. Te Palo moved to the third of the bonfires. The demon crab also crawled up. They continued just like that. The legs were finished falling off in the bonfires, nine of them. There was still one more bonfire. The trunk of the crab's body and testicles alone remained. Te Palo moved backward. The crab crawled to the last bonfire. He burned the trunk and testicles. They fell away from the shell. The crab squirmed. Te Palo called out to his friends to come and help him finish off the demon. The people rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded on the crab, smashed him to pieces. They whipped him until his skin was raw. He was nothing but a soft pulp. They pounded the pulp till it was dust. The demon crab died. Finished also is his tale."

The account just given is in summary form, but it well preserves the narrative style of much of this type of Pukapukan fantasy—the repetitive and slow building up to a long-delayed climax. Told with gesture and enthusiasm, the story is made to live for the auditor. The European observer cannot but feel that the substitute satisfactions of fantasy should not be lightly underrated.

There can be no doubt that spontaneous abreactions of anxiety do actually occur in real life, more so in the past than now, when a Resident Agent keeps tight control on the manners, morals and customs of the Pukapukans. However, we were able to collect many accounts of incidents in which individuals were punished by spontaneous group action for crimes that particularly shocked the conscience of the time. The greatest sin in Pukapuka is, and was, that of stealing. This is understandable when one recalls that only by the most rigid control of all available food resources was it possible in the past to support the population of the atoll. Discovered stealing was a shameful crime. When this happened, the thief was likely to lose all self-control and, in his intense shame, kill whatever living creature was in sight. The following story of Vakatiyala is a typical illustration of this:

Vakatiyala went with the other people of his village to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking nuts for their own use. Vakatiyala went

152 into the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and afterwards
154 cracked the shell to eat the flesh inside. In the quietness of the bush this
627 was heard by the other men and they ran to him, seeking to hold him for
having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakathyala escaped them and ran
579 along the main reef back to his village. Near home, he came upon two
children playing in a shallow reef pool. In his madness Vakathyala struck
down the children and killed them. Rushing further, he came to two other
children playing by themselves. These children Vakathyala also killed.

When the people of the island heard of these killings they were enraged. Vakathyala was caught and it was decided that he should be whipped to death. He was dragged to the village meeting ground and then in turn the men of each lineage whipped him. His skin swelled, became raw, was torn to shreds, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out, and soon his bones were visible. The father of the slain children heated stones red-hot and applied them to Vakathyala's testicles. When all the lineages had finished, the pulpy, disintegrated body of Vakathyala was dragged to the beach, thrown into the sea and allowed to drift back and forth as wind and tide carried it. The people gathered on the beach and cursed the dead body. One night Vakathyala's maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the remains of the body in a mat and buried it in a hastily dug hole. The people of the island looked for the body but none could find it. None knew its whereabouts. This is well for had the act of the maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakathyala and none might interfere with this command.

So runs the account. It should be noted that the last refinement of torture is not physical but social. The socially approved way in which to dispose of any corpse is to bury it in the family cemetery, the focus of a complex set of relationships which determine social status both during the life and after the death of
154 the individual. No Pukapukan can visualize with anything but
intense horror the disposal of his corpse, or any other corpse for
761 that matter, in an unidentified grave or in the sea. It represents
152 the negation of everything that gives meaning to life. The real
point of the story, however, is the methodical manner in which
579 the community systematically set about punishing the offender and in which it appears to have made this punishment the excuse for elaborate sadistic and aggressive impulses that would otherwise have been denied an approved outlet. Again, in telling the story, many many years after the event, informants became extremely excited as the narrative proceeded. With a wealth of
154 detail and emphasis they built up the climax. There was evident
no expression of horror at the type of punishment inflicted, no statement of sympathy at the sufferings of the individual as he

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writhed and groaned in his agony. There was a simple-minded participation in, and re-living of, the event in which so much repressed anxiety must have been allowed freely to dissipate itself over a helpless individual who had broken immemorial rules and become the moment's scapegoat. 154

Other examples of spontaneous abreactions are to be found in the infrequent bloody feuds that suddenly flared up in Pukapuka and just as quickly died down again. There was no institutionalized warfare nor any socially approved method of resorting to physical violence to settle disputes between groups. Occasionally, however, feuds broke out between the older men and the young men's group. The ostensible reason for these feuds was quarrelling over food divisions acerbated by the flouting of the authority of the old men by the young adults. Several of these feuds are well documented in Pukapuka. The noteworthy thing is the manner in which what might well be termed "blood lusts" for a time ruled the community. The stronger side hunted down and killed the opposing group without mercy and without shame. Familial feelings were ruthlessly tramped on, victims of the lust, in a typical case, forced to commit suicide by allowing friends to bury them alive in deep holes, the last consolations of custom denied them. Then when the last victim was safely killed, and anger and aggression appeased, the madness appears to have died down and the group lapsed back into the comfortable security of everyday life. 154 579 628

Violent individual reactions to anxiety conflicts may also be mentioned. Pukapukan patterns of sex behavior are noticeably Polynesian in their freedom. Adultery today hardly concerns the people except when an individual, more progressive than the rest, takes his troubles to the Resident Agent and this official is bound to interfere according to the civil code by which the island is now nominally governed. Formerly adultery was a private matter between the parties concerned. Whether an injured husband took note of the behavior of his wife depended upon his temperament, his affection for the woman, or the fact that he was goaded beyond endurance by interfering relatives. In any case, the usual result of noticed adultery was either the dismissal of the woman from the house or else a domestic beating. Occasionally, however, an individual seems to have been forced to more drastic measures, not by the flagrancy of the offense, but by intense anxiety in his own mind. The account of Kupenga illustrates this: 154 837 [691]